

# ITEMS

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VOLUME 7 · NUMBER 1 · MARCH 1953  
230 PARK AVENUE · NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

## CHARLES EDWARD MERRIAM 1874-1953

*by Robert T. Crane*

THE death of Charles E. Merriam has evoked many vivid memories of the early days of the Social Science Research Council. Probably he alone of the small group of distinguished social scientists who met in 1923 at their own expense to plan and initiate an interdisciplinary organization as an aid in the advancement of knowledge of human behavior envisioned either the potential resources or range of activities that have since become reality.

Looking toward the creation of the Council Merriam had over a period of years interested an individual here and another there and then skillfully won approval by the national societies in economics, political science, and sociology, later joined by those in anthropology, statistics, psychology, and history. The degree of aloofness between the disciplines at the time had reached an excessive point. Merriam always delighted in telling of one of the first meetings of the Council at which he

introduced to each other for the first time three full professors all teaching social sciences at the same university. Disciplinary standoffishness and professional dignity crumbled before his brilliant expositions and his raking wit; and above the leveled walls he erected a new unity of the social sciences. This is his personal and high achievement. His was the initiative and drive that gave body to a thought.

Chairman of the Council during its first four years, he guided its enlargement to the present coverage of fields and secured the first substantial funds. It is fitting that he should have remained longer than any other individual a member of the board of directors of the Council. His period of service was for more than a quarter of a century; from 1923 through 1949 he participated in innumerable undertakings. The debt of the Council to him is endless.

## THE CONFERENCE ON THE NEAR EAST: SOCIAL DYNAMICS AND THE CULTURAL SETTING

*by Bryce Wood*

AS ONE means of stimulating research, and of drawing attention to the growing importance of reliable information about the peoples of the Near East, the Committee on the Near and Middle East sponsored a conference at Princeton University on October 24-25, 1952.<sup>1</sup> The

conference was attended by forty-five persons from universities, business firms, research organizations, and government agencies. The papers prepared for the confer-

<sup>1</sup> The members of the committee, which was appointed by the Social Science Research Council in January 1951, are George G. Cameron,

University of Michigan (chairman); Carleton S. Coon, University of Pennsylvania; Peter G. Franck, Haverford College; Richard N. Frye, Harvard University; J. C. Hurewitz, Columbia University; Majid Khadduri, Johns Hopkins University; E. A. Speiser, University of Pennsylvania; Lewis V. Thomas, Princeton University; *staff*, Bryce Wood.

ence were circulated to the participants well in advance of the date of meeting. Consequently, papers were not presented at the conference sessions; these were given over entirely to the discussion of questions arising from the papers.<sup>2</sup>

In choosing social dynamics and the cultural setting of the Near East as the theme of the conference, the committee wished to emphasize the forces of change, internal and external, that are presently at work in the Near East, together with the strong traditional elements in the life of Near Eastern peoples. At the same time it was hoped that an effort would be made by the authors of the papers and by the participants in the conference to look at the contemporary scene from the viewpoint of members of various groups in the region—intellectuals, clergy, nomads, villagers, workers, political leaders, army officers, minorities, entrepreneurs, merchants, farmers, refugees and other immigrants. The committee thought that this approach might suggest limits to assumptions that are sometimes made by Americans in estimating the attitudes and reactions of Near Eastern peoples, and that it would also avoid as far as possible the frequent tendency to analyze general problems of the area and suggest solutions for them.

The committee was interested in focusing the conference on what different groups in the Near East were doing and saying about a situation apparently presaging significant changes in attitudes and in institutions. Could "barometric readings" be taken of the types of change, of their interrelationships, and of their direction? The topics of papers were selected in terms of occupational groups, in part, to encourage the authors to adopt an interdisciplinary approach and to view their hypothetical individuals in their total situations.

The task given the authors was admittedly a difficult one, and while achievement may have fallen short of expectations, there seemed to be general agreement among the participants that the effort was fully justified. The Near East was considered largely on its own terms—neither as a problem to others, nor as an arena for a contest of external forces. The vantage point chosen did not permit the whole picture to be seen, but it did sharpen the vital details that are sometimes obscured when viewed in other perspectives. The reasons for the less than complete attainment of the committee's aims are not entirely clear, but a few may be suggested, and all have their instructive aspects.

<sup>2</sup> Papers were prepared by present members of the committee and by Douglas D. Crary, University of Michigan; Charles Issawi, Columbia University; Raphael Patai, Dropsie College; Dalton Potter, American University; Channing B. Richardson, Hamilton College; Rezazadeh Shafaq, Columbia University; Wilfred C. Smith, McGill University; Thomas B. Stauffer of Chicago, Ill.; Bernard D. Weinryb, Dropsie College.

In the first place, emphasis was placed primarily upon the description of distinctive characteristics of some fifteen groups of people. The time available did not allow consideration of the interrelationships of these groups. That is to say, some elements of Near Eastern societies were examined, but the societies themselves were not seen as a whole. As a beginning this approach is defensible on scientific as well as other grounds; its use, however, may suggest generalizations that should be regarded as highly tentative until studies of relationships among the various segments of society have been made. In particular, an estimate of changes in opinion, or of shifts in power among classes, would depend on a different and less atomistic line of inquiry than was employed at the conference.

In the second place, it was demonstrated with renewed sharpness that the present state of knowledge concerning the peoples of the Near East is very limited. Although this of course has been recognized in a general way, illustrations of specific gaps in our information gave new meaning to the generalization. As one example only, we seem to have inadequate means of discovering the significance of recent efforts by a few intellectuals to bring about a harmonization of Islamic religious doctrines with the recognition of the rights of individuals as known in western democratic states. Just how influential is the liberal school of thought represented by Khalid Muhammad Khalid, the author of *From Here We Start?*<sup>3</sup>

In the third place, the approach in describing attitudes and reactions of individuals was occasionally less broad than it might have been. The ideal of an interdisciplinary view of members of a given group was rarely gained in the full sense. This is not an easy goal to reach in study of the people of any area; for the Near East it is especially difficult because of the meagerness and unreliability of statistical information, the small number of relevant studies so far made, and the relative lack of experience in interdisciplinary research among social scientists and others.

It is to be anticipated that these limitations upon our knowledge will gradually be lifted as research on the Near East is further developed.

In considering some of the subjects discussed at the sessions, no effort is made here to summarize the papers presented. The conference passed no resolutions, nor did it attempt to reach agreement on any questions. In the exchanges of views among the participants, however, there were some recurrent themes and some points of emphasis which are brought together in this report.

<sup>3</sup> In Arabic; 4th edition, Cairo: Nile Publishing House, 1950.

## THE SETTING

While the term Near East was used to refer to areas from Morocco along the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean to Turkey, and beyond to Iran and Afghanistan, attention was repeatedly drawn to important differences among the several political units, and to sharp distinctions in their internal affairs. For example, each state has a minority problem, but each state's minorities are different, and minority policies are different. Jordan has made citizens of a large number of Palestine Arab refugees; Egypt and Syria have refused to admit them in any considerable numbers. According to the 1944 population estimates, the total adherents of ten Christian sects in Lebanon constituted 53 percent of the population, but the three groups of Muslims made claims to constituting a majority. In Israel, at the end of 1951, about 89 percent of the population were Jews, 7.6 percent were Muslims (Sunni), 2.4 percent Christians, and 0.1 percent Druzes; however, the cultural divergences between westernized and oriental Jews were sufficiently marked to raise questions about the best ways of assimilating the latter into the social and economic structure of the new state.

A similar question had arisen with regard to the resettlement of the Palestinian Arab refugees. While it was understood that the new Libyan government had indicated a willingness to accept some 1,200 refugee families, the view was expressed that such an arrangement might not be practical because of the wide cultural gap between the refugees and the Libyan Arabs.

As J. C. Hurewitz pointed out, a general phenomenon of Near Eastern society is its segmental character. Near Eastern peoples make no distinction between religion and nationalism, and the view that a religious group might be a nonpolitical association is an alien concept throughout the Near East. Therefore, religious-national minorities retain their identities by accepting various types of second-class citizenship, with a recognized place within the state involving political and other disabilities. Their alternative courses of action are to emigrate, or to give up their group identities by conforming to the religion and nationalism of the dominant community in the state.

This is one type of situation, which could be matched with others, in which certain general features are present throughout the area, although the ways in which they are manifested are as various as the political units concerned. The concepts associated with the special positions of the minority groups are referred to as the millet mentality, after an Ottoman term applied to minorities. This expression was borrowed from the Arabs, who in their earlier period of conquest had

accepted usages inherited from the ancient Near East. The persistence of the millet mentality, among majorities and minorities as well, is considered one of the principal obstacles to the introduction of western democratic ideas and practices into the Near East.

The persistence of many other elements of ancient and medieval culture throughout the Near East was frequently noted. As E. A. Speiser put it, "Because the Near East started the world on its historic course, no other part of the globe has been watched over by history to a comparable degree." Because of this peculiar characteristic of the Near East Speiser suggested that the present two-dimensional approach to the region through research on the people and their environment is inadequate; use of a third dimension—time—is necessary for understanding the region in cultural and social terms. However, this three-dimensional approach could be applied neither to the region as a whole, nor to each of the existing states. He proposed that the unit selected for study should be a contemporary social and political organism as the end product of its total cultural career. Several such units, or minimum effective political entities in their social and cultural settings, might be differentiated. Speiser suggested that they might be called "ethnemes," by analogy with phonemes, which are linguistically the minimal meaningful units of sound. An "ethneme" is not necessarily a state, although it might be in some cases. For example, Syria, Jordan, and the Sunni Arab part of Iraq were regarded as in this sense having similar features of religion, language, concepts of the relation between the individual and the state, and geographic environment. Egypt, however, forms another "ethneme," primarily because of its tradition of the unlimited character of the authority held by its rulers. Turkey and Iran, in addition to Israel, form separate units, each with its own combinations of comparable features. It was suggested that the study of Near Eastern "ethnemes" as structures was essential to the interpretation of changes now taking place in the area.

A third feature of the background of the Near East is the predominance of agriculture as an occupation. As was indicated by Douglas D. Crary, at least three quarters of the eighty million people in the Near East (not counting North Africa west of Egypt, and Afghanistan) are farmers. The Near Eastern farmers are far from primitive, either in their agricultural techniques or in their way of life; it would be more accurate to consider them as "hypercivilisé" to employ the term of the French scholar, Jacques Weulersse.

The farmers live in villages, and the great majority of the village people know almost nothing of the outside world. Their chief extra-village contacts are with the landlords to whom they pay rent, and with govern-



ment officials who collect taxes or conscript men for the army or for forced labor. In general, occidental influences upon the villagers have not been of major importance, except in certain sections where cash crops have replaced subsistence farming, and in some villages near towns where industries have been established and a demand for labor has induced some farmers to engage in part- or full-time employment in factories. Again, a few farmers have become landowners on a very small scale, where land reclamation projects have brought water to previously uncultivated plots. Western machinery and implements, however, up to now have resulted in no more than minor modifications of the farmer's way of life, either because he has adopted simple implements and utensils without substantial changes in his social organization or attitudes, or because the cost of major items of agricultural equipment has made them available only in a few places.

Little is known of the political, social, and cultural attitudes and responses of the farmers, at least as these terms are understood in the West. Explanations of the farmers' reactions in terms of lethargy, fatalism, rusticity, disease, or illiteracy are probably wide of the mark. The explanation may be found in the conceptions held by farmers of their place in the social order, and their assumptions about the difficulty of bringing about any change in that position. For centuries past, Near Eastern societies have maintained themselves with notable stability despite great disparities between the numbers of people with little wealth, and the few with immense wealth. There are signs of stirrings against the continuance of this situation, notably in Egypt, but the traditional foundations of stability are still strong. Technical innovations through programs of assistance supported by the United Nations and the United States may accelerate the process of change. The effects of such innovations are difficult to judge, however, and they should be employed cautiously, and only when guided by adequate knowledge of the essential nature of the cohesive elements in the existing order, and of the probable directions of the currents of change.

Many other features of the social setting of the Near East would have to be described in order to give a fully rounded picture. The features that have been considered are examples of traditional factors of importance brought out in the discussions of the conference. Others will be mentioned in a consideration of sources of change that are now influential in the Near East.

## POLITICAL GROUPS

One source of change already suggested is that of influences from the West. One of these influences is the

introduction of democratic forms of government in many Near Eastern states. However, in the view of participants in the conference the adoption of such forms, notably in Syria, Egypt and Iran, has not yet proved to be successful. Establishment of the institutional machinery has not been accompanied by the acceptance of such democratic ideas as the separation of church and state and the equality of individuals, nor have strong middle classes arisen to give vitality to political life.

In this connection three principal subjects occupied the attention of the conference: the compatibility of Islam with democracy; the role of the army in politics; and the possible utility of a temporary dictatorship as an interim government during a period of adaptation from the pre-existing form of authority to democratic government.

Opinions differed as to the compatibility of Islam and democracy. On one hand it was stated that Islam is a theocratic system, with religious and legal rules having one source and equal validity. However, the principles of the Koran are subject to interpretation in various ways, one of which is through carrying out the principle of consensus. It was suggested that this principle, if applied through suitable procedures, would permit reconciliation of the theocratic system with representative democracy.

On the other hand it was said to be impossible to democratize a theocracy because under that system authority could not reside in the people, and the people would have no right to change the sacred body of laws revealed to the Prophet and since regarded as sacrosanct.

On a more descriptive level of discussion it was noted that in the most progressive of Near Eastern states, Turkey, the issue had been resolved by putting an end to the theocracy; church and state had been separated. It was suggested that this achievement by Kemal was largely responsible for the vitality of the contemporary social order in Turkey, as compared with that of its neighbors to the south.

In other countries, where compromises of various kinds have been made through the addition of secular legislation to the traditional laws, a constant struggle goes on among the upholders of Islam—who range from witch doctors to devout scholars—and a number of types of reformers—democrats, socialists, and communists as well as liberal moderate Muslims, both civilian and military. These latter elements are not cooperating as one group, but the combined influence of their opposition to the supporters of the old order appears to foreshadow social changes whose character cannot be seen clearly.

That Islam seemed to be undergoing a measure of "secularization" as a consequence of the "westerniza-

tion" of the Islamic nations of the Near East was the opinion of many of the participants. The use of these terms indicated expectation of a direction of social and political change, but not the character of such change in any one country. The western powers, principally Great Britain and France, were held responsible for introducing the forms of democracy without adequately preparing the people for their use, and without adapting the forms to Near Eastern traditions. With the withdrawal of the western powers from controlling positions in domestic politics, the local politicians, chiefly wealthy landowners, found ways of operating democratic techniques to their own advantage, and social reforms demanded by a few liberals were not accomplished. The civilian liberals found allies among younger army officers, particularly in Syria and Egypt. The latter had come to look to the reforms of Kemal in Turkey as adaptable to their own countries, if the right leader could be found. To these dissatisfactions in the two Arab states, the failure to prevent the establishment of the state of Israel came as a climax. It was suggested that the attempt by the politicians in both Syria and Egypt to blame the army officers for that failure was the immediate cause of the revolts that brought Generals Shishakli and Naguib to power.

It is by no means certain, however, that the new regimes in Syria and Egypt will follow the Turkish example. It was pointed out that at least three main elements in what has come to be known as Kemalism remain to be observed in the plans of the new army regimes. First, will the separation of church and state take place? Second, will a strong civilian party or parties be developed? Third, will Kemal's example of making the military authorities subordinate to the civil power be followed? The ways found for answering these questions, among others, will be watched with keen interest both within and without the Near East.

The strength of the religious leaders in the Islamic nations remains considerable, but the impression was general at the conference that their position is growing weaker because they have not developed any positive program for dealing with the growing western influences, both ideological and material. The slogan "Back to Islam" is not enough; and the principal, lay, religious revival of recent years, the Ikhwan al-Muslimun led by Sahykh Hasan al-Banna in Egypt, is regarded as no longer having great political importance after having gained millions of Egyptian and other Arab adherents for a short period of time.

The numerical strength of the communist and pro-Soviet groups in the Near East, with the exception of the Tudeh Party in Iran, was judged to be very small, although no statistical estimates were given. It was

thought that communism had not so far developed any mass base among farmers or industrial workers, and also that religious and private property motives now provide barriers to the development of large communist parties. A few liberal, lay intellectuals were regarded as the chief sources of communist influence at the present time in the Arab countries since these persons look upon Islam as a civilization in decline and have become disillusioned with democratic institutions, which they attack as vehicles for corruption and for the maintenance of oligarchic control. It was noted that no significant communist movement had developed among the three quarters of a million Palestinian Arab refugees. It was thought, however, that communism might gain support in Egypt and Syria if the new army regimes do not maintain the popular enthusiasm that greeted their advent.

## ECONOMIC GROUPS

A desire for the development of industry is found among some people in Near Eastern countries, chiefly among government officials. In general, the wealthy landowners have not been interested in investing in industry; such private development as has taken place has been supported by men who have made money in trade. However, it appears that many of the profits from industry are being invested in land, partly because of accompanying prestige values, and partly because this form of wealth appears to offer greater security. This reluctance on the part of industrialists to reinvest is a brake on development by private capital. Other curbs are inadequate transportation facilities, lack of knowledge of plant management, the scarcity of personnel possessing technical education, the slow growth of commercial banks, and lack of understanding of the limited liability form of business organization.

In general, entrepreneurial groups have less political power than the landowners, although it was thought that the influence of the former was effective to some extent in the adoption of the latest land reform in Egypt. While this would suggest the beginning of a middle class, at least in Egypt, not enough was known about the group to estimate its size or precise composition. In Israel the situation is very different since highly developed groups of entrepreneurs have been transplanted from Europe, have continued their established forms of manufacturing and finance, and have been assisted by capital imports.

To the extent to which industry has developed, a labor force has come into being. However, factory workers remain a minor group in comparison with farmers. One reason for this, of course, is the small

degree of industrialization; another is that most of the factory workers are only part-time employees. This usually means that they keep close ties to their villages and frequently return to them after a few experiments in factory work. In Turkey, for example, it was noted that a man is not counted as a worker until he has been in a factory for ten years. There seems to be a tendency for workers in Iran to maintain permanent employment, but elsewhere, except in Israel, the turnover in factory labor is very great. In Arabia it was found that even high wages had not fully succeeded in assuring a stable labor force for the oil companies, although a given individual after working only a few months each year for several years might thereafter become a steady employee.

In this situation the growth of labor unions, while legal in all countries except Arabia, has been very slow, and their services to the workers have remained limited. Communist influence in labor unions apparently has not been great; it was reported that in Egypt no union was known to be dominated by communists. While the productivity of labor is generally low in the Near East, this was not thought to be a result of the workers' unadaptability to mechanical means of production, but rather of the lack of social patterns providing incentives to productivity.

The nomads occupy a special position in certain countries. In some areas, particularly in North Africa, the nomads have largely disappeared since their grazing lands were taken by European governments and turned into vineyards. Where local governments have come to power, policies have varied, but the tendency has been to try to turn the nomads into agriculturalists, and stop the raiding expeditions so feared by many village and town dwellers. In some areas the nomads have become soldiers and police; in others they have had to engage in labor on roads and other public works.

The view was expressed that the nomads should be preserved from destruction by governments, which are able to employ weapons and means of transportation that the nomads cannot match. It was suggested that the nomads could find a place in the economy of states in the process of industrialization, by providing meat and hides and other products. Their special qualities and values, it was thought, could be both retained and integrated into developing social orders; it was even possible that western culture might be more readily assimilated by the nomads than by other elements of the Islamic societies.

Within Israel significant changes are taking place in the agricultural population and in agricultural production. Before the establishment of Israel almost 90 percent of the total immigration from 1882 to 1947 was

of European origin. The early farming communities were intended to be self-sufficient, and farming was looked upon as a way of life, inspired by a pioneering spirit. A number of factors have combined to change this original outlook. With the great increase of population in recent years, cities have grown physically so that most of the older villages have become parts of urban communities. The development of political parties has resulted in serious conflicts in collective farming units. The social prestige of farming is lower than it used to be, and the type of rural civilization that many had hoped originally to establish is becoming more and more western and urban.

One of the complicating factors in this development is the immigration of oriental Jews from the Near East and North Africa, who accounted for 71 percent of the total number of immigrants in the year 1951. At present this group comprises about one third of the total estimated population of 1,405,000. While this group is not expected to increase greatly by further immigration, its fertility is much higher than that of the European Jews, and its numbers are expected to increase more rapidly because its death rate will probably be reduced before its birth rate falls.

The oriental Jews were not primarily agriculturalists in their countries of origin, but they are settling on the land in large numbers in Israel. Because of this fact, together with the differences between their culture and that of the well-established European Jews, there is some concern lest the former come to be looked upon as peasants. While the government is making strenuous efforts to hasten the process of westernization through the schools and through army service for the men, there is a desire on the part of the non-European immigrants to keep their own cultural values at the same time that they show willingness to accept some of the material advantages of western civilization.

While it is thought that the villages established by the oriental Jews may concentrate on subsistence agriculture for a time at least, the general trend in Israel is toward the growing of cash crops both for sale in the cities and, as in the case of citrus fruits, for sale abroad. This development is another factor in the urbanization of the farming groups, and another evidence of the decline in the earlier ideal of European Jews who wished to emigrate to live a life closer to nature on the land of Israel.

While one of the forces of change in the Near East is the desire for economic development on the part of some political leaders and others, and while some efforts at national planning have been undertaken, notably in Iran's seven-year plan, it does not appear that these efforts have so far met with any considerable degree of



success. Among reasons advanced for difficulties in the countries other than Israel were the following: (1) governmental instability; (2) a great shortage of engineers and other technicians and of civil servants with managerial capacity; (3) failure to include in plans for economic development arrangements for dealing with ancillary but unforeseen problems created by the development programs themselves. An additional source of trouble has been the inadequate preparation of the people most directly affected. In general, the planning initiative has come from within the governments since there has been little interest on the part of local sources of capital, even where such capital is available. Sometimes the aim of the initiating group has been, at least in part, to improve its political position. In any case it was suggested that there had been little effort to create a "development ideology" among, for example, farmers who were to be aided by an irrigation project. Education in expectations had been neglected, as had training in techniques of maintenance.

In some cases where planning had been aided by loans and technical assistance from abroad, the preparation had been insufficiently detailed and imaginative. Furthermore, the foreign technicians who had built an irrigation system were without experience in dealing with subsequent problems whose solution required experts in farm credit or agricultural extension services. It was hoped that enough had been learned so that future planning efforts would be carried out with appreciation of the total needs that would result from a given

capital investment, and would include appropriate educational campaigns.

## A LOOK AT THE FUTURE

The closing session of the conference emphasized the importance of attempting more fully to understand the social dynamics of the contemporary Near East. Such understanding was regarded as significant both for the peoples of the Near East and for others. It had become clear from earlier discussions that, while attention is beginning to be given to studies that may throw light on changes in the Near East, a vast amount of research is needed in order to provide enough information for an appreciation of the present situation and its potentialities. It was remarked that perhaps the group of people in the Islamic Near East about whom most is known in the West are the nomads, who are in danger of disappearing from the scene.

It was thought that significant information about social developments might be obtained through learning what Near Eastern intellectuals are thinking and writing. However, the aspirations and viewpoints of many other groups deserve attention if an effort is to be made "to recapture human progress in its totality" as experienced in the Near East. There are strong hopes, both in the Near East and in the West, for well-rounded advances in the welfare of the peoples of the area; greater knowledge of the Near East is necessary for the realization of those hopes.

## RESEARCH TRAINING: TWO NEW PROGRAMS

DURING the coming summer the Council will sponsor an Institute in Mathematics for Social Scientists and the first of a series of awards of undergraduate research stipends. Both programs have been made possible by recent grants from the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation. Announcements were issued in January and the volume of response to both programs suggests that they are directed at widely felt needs for more adequate preparation for research.

Much credit for the inception of these new activities is due respectively to William G. Madow, who organized several years ago an intersociety committee on mathematical training of social scientists, and who headed the Council seminar that devoted last summer to preparing materials for teaching the mathematics needed for research on social science problems; and to David C. McClelland of the Ford Foundation, who has vigorously

advocated more practical experience in the scientific study of human behavior during the undergraduate college years. The Council's archives contain numerous references both to the widespread mathematical naïveté of social scientists and to the dearth of opportunities for college undergraduates to gain firsthand acquaintance with the processes of scientific research in the social disciplines. The Institute in Mathematics and the offering of undergraduate research stipends are extensions of the Council's range of activities, in that the first courses of instruction under its immediate sponsorship will be offered at the Institute, while the undergraduate research stipends will be the first financial assistance ever granted by the Council to college students. Both ventures affirm the belief that the advancement of social science depends on the preparation of social scientists.

## INSTITUTE IN MATHEMATICS

The 1953 Summer Institute in Mathematics will be held at Dartmouth College, June 22–August 14, 1953, under the guidance of the Council's Committee on Mathematical Training of Social Scientists.<sup>1</sup> As announced in the printed circular distributed to colleges and universities, the Institute is open to faculty members and predoctoral and postdoctoral students who wish to improve their mathematical training for the scientific study of human behavior. In the selection of applicants, considerable reliance has been placed on the maturity of students, and they are assumed to be well prepared in social science disciplines but not in mathematics. Previous training in the calculus is not required, but the work of students who have had such training will naturally progress more rapidly.

Two hundred and thirty-four applications for admission were received in time for consideration, and numerous additional late applicants have had to be told that they could not be considered. A subcommittee on admission has extended invitations to some 50 persons, but it is anticipated that actual enrollment will be close to 40. Approximately one third of those invited hold doctoral degrees, while the majority are at various levels of graduate training. Disciplinary fields are represented in about the following proportions: psychology, 50 percent; economics, 20 percent; sociology, 20 percent; others, 10 percent.

The program of the Institute is designed to equip students to: (a) formulate social science problems in mathematical form, (b) read mathematical literature in their chosen fields, and (c) do further work in mathematics and statistics beyond the level of the calculus if they find need for this in connection with their work in social science.

No course in statistical methods will be offered in the Institute. Each student will pursue three courses meeting five days a week for eight weeks:

1. *Mathematics for social scientists*, 2 hours  
Sets, relations, probability, matrix theory, convex bodies, theory of games, linear programming, metric spaces, convergence, differentiation, integration
2. *Mathematical models in the social sciences*, 1 hour
3. Either (a) *Advanced seminar on mathematical models*, or (b) *More elementary mathematical topics*, 1 hour.

In addition, two hours daily will be devoted to home work and reviewing subjects discussed in classes, with

<sup>1</sup> The members of this committee, which was appointed in December 1952, are William G. Madow, University of Illinois (chairman); E. P. Hutchinson, University of Pennsylvania; Jacob Marschak, University of Chicago; Paul E. Meehl, University of Minnesota; George A. Miller, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Frederick Mosteller, Harvard University; and Robert M. Thrall, University of Michigan.

the help of staff members. Thus each participant will devote a minimum of six hours a day to the program. No outside employment or research activities will be permissible, as the intensive program of the Institute will require the exclusion of competing interests.

The teaching staff of the Institute will include William G. Madow (Director), Professor of Mathematical Statistics, University of Illinois; Robert M. Thrall, Professor of Mathematics, University of Michigan; Robert R. Bush, Assistant Professor of Social Relations, Harvard University; and Howard Raiffa, Assistant Professor of Mathematical Statistics, Columbia University. Other visiting lecturers are expected to participate from time to time.

The Institute cannot grant academic credits, but it is believed that the work of the Institute will be equivalent to at least six semester hours of graduate or advanced undergraduate courses. No tuition or other fees will be charged.

Study grants ranging from \$250 to \$850, according to academic status and estimated needs, have been awarded to a considerable proportion of those enrolled.

In selecting candidates for admission the subcommittee sought a group diversified by academic status, discipline, and geographical location, as the purposes of the Institute include testing methods of instruction that may be adapted to the needs of both students at early stages of social science training and more mature social scientists whose previous mathematical training has been deficient. Preference was given to those who may be expected immediately or later to influence the development of curricula in institutions that train substantial numbers of social scientists.

A few applicants whose mathematical competence obviously exceeds the level to be attained in the Institute have been invited to attend if they wish, but it has not been thought appropriate to offer them study grants.

With funds already granted for the purpose by the Ford Foundation, it is planned to hold another institute in mathematics, probably in the summer of 1954 at a place not yet chosen. The summer institutes are, however, viewed as "pilot" projects that will have best served their purpose if further need for them is eliminated by the introduction of appropriate mathematical instruction in the regular curricula of universities.

## UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH STIPENDS

Undergraduate research stipends are designed to enable selected college students, singly or in small groups, to devote the summer between their junior and senior years to research under the close guidance of designated faculty supervisors. It is hoped that a period of firsthand



research at a time when career choices are often made will afford qualified students an opportunity to consider the scientific study of human behavior as a career, and will also be in itself a valuable educational experience not usually available in college curricula.

Holders of the stipends will be expected to devote eight weeks or more during the summer to their research projects and to bring them to completion as a part of their academic work in the senior year. Awards of first-year graduate study fellowships, supported by the same appropriation, will be made in the latter part of the senior year to perhaps one half of the undergraduate stipend holders, who have shown superior promise of making successful careers in the scientific study of human behavior.

The research stipend for an undergraduate will be \$600, which should cover the student's living expenses for the summer and leave a balance applicable to the expenses of his senior year in college. The faculty supervisor will receive an honorarium, on the assumption that he will forego some other activity in order to devote a part of his time during the summer to this program. The stipend for first-year graduate study fellowships has been tentatively set at \$1,500.

Fields in which research may be supported are not bounded by departmental lines. An acceptable project must consist of scientific research on some problem of human behavior, at a level at which the student will be able, with guidance, to participate actively in all phases of the research, rather than merely to perform routine tasks set for him by another.

Student candidates for undergraduate research stipends will be selected on the basis of their demonstrated ability and promise rather than the amount of previous training they may have had in research methods. They

need not already be committed to graduate study in a particular field, since an important aim is to afford able students an experience that may give them a basis for a more informed choice of careers.

Ideally a student would plan and carry out a project of his own, working closely with his faculty supervisor at all stages of the process and thus learning something about research methods as the need arises. Alternatively, a student might be attached to an ongoing research project conducted by the supervisor, although in such a case it would be important to assure that the student would not be cast in the role of a mere computer or bibliographic assistant but would be enabled to gain some understanding of the research as a whole. Instead of a teacher-student pair, two or a few students might work on separate or joint projects under the guidance of one or more faculty members. The latter arrangement might indeed be positively advantageous, given qualified individuals with compatible interests.

Funds at hand will permit some 40 appointments a year for three years, but the actual number of awards in 1953 will depend on the number of suitable proposals received. At the time of writing, preliminary correspondence from prospective sponsors seems to indicate that the number may be much larger than was anticipated in view of the fact that announcement of the program was not possible until January.

March 16 was set as the closing date for receipt of applications, and it is planned to announce awards about May 1. The committee in charge of the program consists of Douglas McGregor, Antioch College (chairman); R. F. Arragon, Reed College; E. Adamson Hoebel, University of Utah; Robert B. MacLeod, Cornell University; Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Vanderbilt University; and George E. Simpson, Oberlin College.

## NEW COUNCIL ACTIVITY IN AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

A NEW Committee on Agricultural Economics was appointed by the Council in February as a result of a conference on research in this field, held at Chicago on January 15-16. The conference in turn had resulted from exploratory discussions, which had been carried on intermittently over several years, of the desirability of reviving the Council's earlier interest in the improvement of social and economic research in agriculture.

The Chicago conference first reviewed the role and accomplishments of the Council's former Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture. Between 1925 and 1942 that committee arranged for the preparation and publication of an extensive series of bulletins

on the scope and methods of agricultural research; initiated and administered a program of fellowships in agricultural economics and rural sociology, under which 106 appointments were made during the years 1928-33; and in other ways sought to strengthen the quality of research in its field. The conference next discussed various individual views regarding current limitations of work in agricultural economics and the nature of remedial measures which might be proposed. In the course of this discussion considerable attention was given to the desirability of establishing closer working relations between agricultural economists and persons engaged in research in other social sciences as well as be-

tween agricultural economists and specialists in several fields in the natural and physical sciences.

There was complete agreement that an over-all survey or appraisal of the current state of agricultural economics would not only constitute a burdensome and expensive task, but that available resources of time and money should instead be directed toward more specific objectives. After consideration of numerous alternatives the conference agreed to recommend:

1. That the Council undertake a project evaluating existing knowledge and research bearing on the factors responsible for the persistence within the United States of agricultural areas of low income and low productivity in spite of general agricultural prosperity. Closely tied to this would be an appraisal of past research relating to economic development in low income areas, and also a study of the degree to which extensive rural areas are increasingly becoming characterized by the close intermingling of nonagricultural and agricultural activities and incomes, so that these areas can no longer be considered strictly agricultural for most analytical and administrative purposes.

This undertaking, in the view of the conference, would cut across several existing subfields of agricultural economics and would serve to delineate sharply ranges of research that have been given insufficient attention by agricultural specialists. It was hoped that the resulting report would guide research workers in the future selection of projects and of techniques, and also be of assistance to research administrators in the consideration and approval of projects. Preparation of the report would necessarily involve the collaboration of persons from other social science disciplines and probably from certain natural or physical science fields as well. It was thought that successful completion of the project should have considerable significance for those who are called upon to analyze problems or to give advice concerning programs for underdeveloped agricultural areas abroad. Finally, the hope was expressed that this project would provide a basis for similar cross-sectional examinations of current and recent work in agriculture.

2. That research handbooks be prepared explaining the use and limitations of research techniques now in use or on the horizon.

This proposal arose from a realization that many experienced persons in the field do not have a working knowledge of all the research techniques available to agricultural economists. Handbooks on research techniques would make it possible for mature workers to add important tools to their equipment. Then, too, handbooks should facilitate the task of training research workers in the graduate schools.

As examples of topics of handbooks, the following

were specifically mentioned: linear programming, simultaneous equations, interindustry economics, use of the Cobb-Douglas production function, regression analysis, analysis of variance, canonical correlation, multiple correlation, and sampling and design of experiments in the social sciences. Should the entire task prove unmanageable, or too great for the resources available, the treatment of new techniques is regarded as more urgent.

It was stressed that there is great need for research resources to be devoted to the improved application of techniques, and that the quality of the talent involved must be high. A survey of the field would indicate the relevant studies in progress. Research workers in agricultural economics could advise on specific aspects.

One suggestion concerning organization was that an introduction be devoted to the main problems of agricultural economic research and the alternative research methods that appear to be applicable to the different types of problems. Then attention would be turned to a detailed explanation of the different research tools, their usefulness, and limitations for specific types of problems.

3. That the Council explore possibilities for financing the development of professional competence among research workers by means of refresher courses, to enable experienced research workers to deal more effectively with a wider range of problems; and that efforts be made to increase fellowship opportunities for workers in agricultural economics. It was recognized that achievement of the aims of these recommendations would depend entirely upon the availability of substantial financing, which must be awaited before specific steps can be taken. The conference in the meantime expressed strong interest in the current efforts of the American Farm Economic Association to re-examine the total problem of undergraduate and graduate training of agricultural economists.

These recommendations were considered early in February by the Council's Committee on Problems and Policy, which approved establishment of the new committee and designation of two subcommittees to begin detailed planning with respect to the first two recommendations of the conference. Those appointed as members of the Committee on Agricultural Economics are: H. Brooks James, North Carolina State College (chairman); Lee R. Martin, North Carolina State College (secretary); R. G. Bressler, Jr., University of California; J. K. Galbraith, Harvard University; Earl O. Heady, Iowa State College; D. Gale Johnson, University of Chicago; Glenn L. Johnson, Michigan State College; William H. Nicholls, Vanderbilt University; Kenneth H. Parsons, University of Wisconsin; and Frederick V. Waugh, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

## COMMITTEE BRIEFS

### ECONOMIC GROWTH

Simon Kuznets (chairman), Shepard B. Clough, Edgar M. Hoover, Wilbert E. Moore, Morris E. Opler, Joseph J. Spengler.

At a second meeting with representatives of several university research groups interested in economic growth, on February 20-21, the committee formulated tentative plans for four small conferences to be held during 1953-54 on various university campuses. The topics of the conferences will be (a) the influence of cities on economic growth and on cultural change in underdeveloped countries, (b) the theory of investment decisions in recent economic planning, (c) types of entrepreneurship in relation to phases of economic growth, and (d) comparisons of selected cases of especially rapid economic growth. Final plans for these conferences are to be made at a meeting in May, when further consideration will also be given to additional conference topics discussed in preliminary fashion in February.

The International Association for Research in Income and Wealth has published, under the title *Income and Wealth of the United States: Trends and Structure* (Cambridge, England: Bowes & Bowes, 1952), papers by Simon Kuznets and Raymond Goldsmith prepared for the Association's 1951 conference at the suggestion of the Committee on Economic Growth. Several additional papers, dealing with other countries and similarly initiated by the committee, are to be published by the Association this spring. Further papers dealing with the longer-term trends shown by estimates of national income and wealth for selected countries are being prepared for the conference that the Association will hold in Italy in the summer of 1953.

### LABOR MARKET RESEARCH

Dale Yoder (chairman), E. Wight Bakke, Philip M. Hauser, Clark Kerr, Charles A. Myers, Gladys L. Palmer, Carroll L. Shartle.

A final report on the committee's six-city survey of patterns and factors in labor mobility is in preparation at the Industrial Research Department of the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of Gladys L. Palmer. The survey and the present report were undertaken in cooperation with the Bureau of the Census with funds provided by the Department of the Air Force. The report is scheduled for completion this spring and will be reviewed, together with an independent critical analysis of major research in the mobility field made for the committee by Herbert S. Parnes of Ohio State University, at a conference to be held in Minneapolis on May 14-15 under the joint sponsorship of the committee and the University of Minnesota. The conference will be concerned primarily with the implications of mobility studies for theory and further research. It is to include sessions on migration and mobility, on mobility and manpower allocation, and on personality and motivation theory.

### LINGUISTICS AND PSYCHOLOGY

Charles E. Osgood (chairman), John B. Carroll, Floyd G. Lounsbury, George A. Miller, Thomas A. Sebeok; *staff*, Joseph B. Casagrande.

Since its establishment in October 1952, the committee has devoted its first two meetings primarily to the development of plans for a seminar in psycholinguistics, which will be held at Indiana University from June 17 to August 13 in conjunction with the 1953 summer session of the Linguistic Institute. The seminar will undertake to examine three independently evolving theoretical models of the language process:

(1) the linguist's conception of language as a structure of systematically interrelated units, i.e., units of sound (phonemes) and units of form and meaning (morphemes);

(2) the learning theorist's conception of language as a system of habits relating signs to behavior and depending upon the same general principles that govern all learned activities;

(3) the information theorist's conception of language as a system of signals that are transmitted through such channels as radios, telephones, and human nervous systems.

These points of view will be explored in order to appraise their utility for handling different problems and to discover in what respects, if any, they can be brought into a common conceptual framework. It is anticipated that the seminar participants will attempt to formulate concrete plans for research to test various hypotheses growing out of the theoretical analysis.

A survey of ongoing and contemplated research on language behavior is being conducted by the committee, with the aim of producing an inventory of trained personnel, existing and needed techniques, and potentially fruitful research areas. The committee invites those who are engaged in or planning research on language behavior and those who know of such activities at their own or other institutions to communicate with either the chairman (Charles E. Osgood, Department of Psychology, University of Illinois, Urbana) or the staff (Joseph B. Casagrande, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.), giving information on the general nature of the research, the principal investigators, and the name of the institution at which the work is being carried on.

### SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (chairman), Leon Festinger, Horace M. Miner, Robert R. Sears, Robin M. Williams, Jr.; *staff*, M. Brewster Smith.

The committee met on February 20 to discuss preliminary plans for pilot cross-cultural studies of child rearing and character development, which had been prepared by the Subcommittee on Socialization, and to consider other possible activities.

A first draft of a "Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of Child Rearing," by John W. M. Whiting, Kimball



Romney, Beatrice B. Whiting, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Barbara C. Ayres, Henrietta Smith, and Edgar Lowell, was completed in February, and is being circulated for critical comment. A limited number of copies are available to interested persons, on request to John W. M. Whiting, Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University. The manual was prepared for the committee as a step in the planning of systematic cross-cultural research, which in the view of the committee can provide a uniquely valuable source of data on the consequences of variation in the practices of child rearing. Pilot studies that are being planned will test the approach initially outlined in the manual, and hypotheses being formulated by seminar groups at the University of California, Cornell, Harvard, University of Kansas, University of Texas, and Yale.

Among other matters considered by the committee were memoranda concerning research on values and on urban community research.

## PERSONNEL

### DIRECTORS OF THE COUNCIL

The seven national social science organizations associated with the Council have designated the following persons to serve as directors of the Council for the three-year term 1953-55:

E. Adamson Hoebel, University of Utah, by the American Anthropological Association

John P. Miller, Yale University, by the American Economic Association

Gordon A. Craig, Princeton University, by the American Historical Association

Taylor Cole, Duke University, by the American Political Science Association

Ernest R. Hilgard, Stanford University, by the American Psychological Association

Dorothy S. Thomas, University of Pennsylvania, by the American Sociological Society

Frederick Mosteller, Harvard University, by the American Statistical Association.

Their credentials are scheduled for acceptance by the board of directors of the Council at its spring meeting in New York on March 28-29, 1953.

## SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

230 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

*Incorporated in the State of Illinois, December 27, 1924, for the purpose of advancing research in the social sciences*

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## PUBLICATIONS

### SSRC BULLETINS AND MONOGRAPHS

*Adjustment to Physical Handicap and Illness: A Survey of the Social Psychology of Physique and Disability*, Bulletin 55, revised edition, by Roger G. Barker, in collaboration with Beatrice A. Wright, Lee Meyerson, Mollie R. Gonick. April 1953. About 460 pp. \$2.00.

*Social Behavior and Personality: Contributions of W. I. Thomas to Theory and Social Research*, edited by Edmund H. Volkart. June 1951. 348 pp. Cloth, \$3.00.

*Support for Independent Scholarship and Research* by Elbridge Sibley. Report of an inquiry jointly sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and the Social Science Research Council. May 1951. 131 pp. \$1.25.

*Area Research: Theory and Practice*, Bulletin 63, by Julian H. Steward. August 1950. 183 pp. \$1.50.

*Culture Conflict and Crime*, Bulletin 41, by Thorsten Sellin. 1938; reprinted September 1950. 116 pp. \$1.00.

*Tensions Affecting International Understanding: A Survey of Research*, Bulletin 62, by Otto Klineberg. May 1950. 238 pp. Paper, \$1.75; cloth, \$2.25.

*Labor-Management Relations: A Research Planning Memorandum*, Bulletin 61, by John G. Turnbull. October 1949. 121 pp. \$1.25.

### PAMPHLETS

*Exchange of Persons: The Evolution of Cross-Cultural Education*, Pamphlet 9, by Guy S. Métraux. June 1952. 58 pp. 50 cents.

*Area Studies in American Universities* by Wendell C. Bennett. 1951. 92 pp. \$1.00.

*Domestic Control of Atomic Energy*, Pamphlet 8, by Robert A. Dahl and Ralph S. Brown, Jr. 1951. 122 pp. \$1.00.

### DIRECTORY OF FELLOWS

*Fellows of the Social Science Research Council 1925-1951*. New York, 1951. 485 pp. Limited distribution. \$5.00.

All publications listed are distributed from the New York office of the Council.